NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1909-1959 — NEW YORK CITY JULY 13-19

The CRISIS

MAY, 1959 15¢

HOW TO TEACH
A CHILD THE
MEANING OF
DEMOCRACY . . .

. . . GIVE A JUNIOR

LIFE MEMBERSHIP IN NAACP

AVAILABLE TO ANY CHILD 12 YEARS OLD OR YOUNGER

A Junior Life Membership in NAACP will serve not only as a tangible expression of your own faith in democracy, but as the solid foundation for a child's sense of responsibility to his fellow men. It is a particularly rewarding and significant gift. Available for $100.00. Later this payment may be applied to a Senior Life Membership.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN JACKIE ROBINSON DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander
George A. Beavers, Jr.
Bishop W. Y. Bell
Dr. George D. Cannon
Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Nathaniel Colley
Hon. Hubert T. Delany
Earl B. Dickerson
Mrs. Arthur H. Frederick
Dr. S. Ralph Harlow
Bishop Eugene C. Hatcher
Hon Carl R. Johnson
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Dr. Robert H. Johnson
Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin
Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. Rose Morgan Louis
Bishop Edgar A. Love
Dr. James J. McClendon
Dr. Maurice Rabb
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Mrs. Nellie G. Roulhac
Ike Smalls
Dr. Alfred E. Thomas, Jr.
Frederick N. Weathers
Mrs. Pauline F. Weeden

WANTED

50 ! LEADERS

a unique opportunity to commemorate and serve the 50th anniversary of the NAACP in a truly significant way

Among the readers of this magazine, we seek 50 dedicated leaders. As a magnificent inspiration to our 50th Anniversary Celebration and to our 1959 Fighting Fund for Freedom Dinner, we ask each of these 50 devoted people to assume the responsibility for securing, beyond the activities of his local NAACP chapter, at least $5,000 in funds. This sorely needed financial support may be secured by making a personal contribution, by securing Life Memberships, by soliciting contributions to the Fighting Fund for Freedom, or by any combination of these three methods. The challenge is great; so is the need. Let the leaders step forward now.

Write, wire or phone to any of the three co-chairman listed below.

KIVIE KAPLAN JACKIE ROBINSON DR. GEORGE CANNON

Care of NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 66, No. 5 **Whole Number 563**

IN THIS ISSUE

May, 1959

COVER

Shiela Joe Brown, daughter of Dr. Val J. Brown, an NAACP life membership subscriber, is a junior life member of the NAACP. She and her parents are members of the Wichita, Kansas, branch.

STATES' RIGHTS AND STATES' WRONGS—*By John A. Morsell* 263

JOHN BROWN, ABOLITIONIST—*By G. W. Sherman* 273

INTERVIEW WITH A NEGRO TEACHER—*By Henry Hardy* 283

DEPARTMENTS

LOOKING AND LISTENING 290

NAACP BATTLEFRONT 294

BRANCH NEWS 302

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 305

BOOK REVIEWS 312

THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscription* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted. Copyright* 1959 *by The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.*

Norman Prime

NAACP *life membership members of the San Jose, California, branch, from L: Mrs. Clifford Payne, president of the Garden City Womens Club and co-chairman of the branch's FFF 1958 drive; Dr. Donald Duncan, branch treasurer for two years; and Dr. Leo V. English, president for two years.*

MRS. LESPER BOWDEN, *who was crowned "Queen" by the Gloucester, Virginia, branch during the branch's annual queen rally. Mrs. Bowden was crowned by George Lancaster (R) in the presence of her husband James Bowden (L).*

■ **So far as the southern Negro is concerned, southern state sovereignty has always meant oppression**

States' Rights and States' Wrongs*

By John A. Morsell

TO ask whether integration is a proper responsibility of the federal government implies that such a responsibility exists at *some* level of government, and assumes that both the states and the federal government are in fact *capable* of effecting integration. Thus, the decision as to where the responsibility lies is a matter of principle, not of practical effectiveness. Certainly the states—or, more exactly, their affected subdivisions: municipalities, school districts, counties—can, *if they choose*, integrate their schools quickly and efficiently. Whether, on their own, they can as readily reach the decision to do so is something else again. To a large extent it is, in fact, what all the shouting is about.

The essence of the present crisis over school desegregation is the refusal of parts of the South to begin compliance with the ruling of the United States Supreme Court that enforced segregation of Negro children in the public schools is a denial of their constitutional rights. It should be noted in passing that the crisis is not solely one of school desegregation, although that is the most recent one historically. The Negro's right to the ballot, the protection of his person and property from the assaults of private individuals and public officials, his freedom from the daily humiliations of a multitude of segregative restrictions, and his need for equal opportunity in jobs and housing, are also very much at stake.

* Based on a speech delivered by Dr. Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, in debate with J. J. Kilpatrick, editor, *The Richmond News Leader*, before the Morristown Forum Association, Morristown, New Jersey, on November 29, 1958. Dr. Morsell took the affirmative side of the topic: "Is Integration of the Races a Proper Responsibility of the Federal Government?"

Southern opponents of the Court's rulings have sought to justify their resistance on a variety of grounds: such as, that integration is wrong and segregation is right; that, even if something can be said for integration, the states shouldn't be *told* to put it into effect—they should be allowed time to do it of their own accord and at their own pace; that integration may be all right in principle, but that no Negroes are ready for it yet; that Negroes really prefer to be segregated; and so on. Increasingly, however, southern opposition has chosen to make its major stand on the thesis that the rights of the states as prescribed in the Constitution are being violated by a decision which the Supreme Court had no right to make.

Correspondingly, less and less emphasis is placed on moral arguments imputing justice and rightness to the segregation system itself; these have proved to be thoroughly untenable grounds. Segregation has one function only: to preserve white supremacy, which has been defined as: "the belief that there can be no cordiality between the races except when the Negro is willing to assume a position of social inferiority."*

ARGUMENT UNTENABLE

It is my contention that the states' rights argument is as untenable as the moral argument. In its essentials, the states' rights thesis—or the state *sovereignty* thesis, in the phrase which James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond *News-Leader*, has done so much to make current—is as follows: The United States consists of a union of individually sovereign states, allied chiefly for purposes of mutual defense, under the terms of a written consitution which allocates certain minimum functions to a central government: the principal ones being maintenance of armed forces; a common coinage; and conduct of foreign relations in the name of the federated sovereignties. The central government is given certain related functions and sharply circumscribed powers for carrying them out.

In all respects except those expressly assigned the central government, the individual states retain full sovereignty. This being so, they necessarily retain the right and the power to refuse compliance with any acts of the central government which seem to them to infringe upon their sovereignty. This right is the right of interposition, so-called, which may be exercised at will by any state or group of states, whenever and however they choose. The right of interposition is conceived as especially pertinent to rulings of the Supreme Court, since the Constitution provides no *direct* check on this Court's decisions; that is, in the sense that the President may veto acts of Congress and the Congress may override the President's veto.

It is of course argued, in connection with this thesis, that the states should, and would, exercise their right of interposition with restraint, invoking it only when absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, each state is at any time the sole judge of what is necessary, and there is no built-in guarantee of wisdom, any more than

* Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, S. C.: "Unchanging White Supremacy," in *Current History* magazine, November, 1958.

is the case with other levels or branches of government.

What Calhoun's words clearly imply is that we either do or do not have a nation. A nation cannot be a loose assemblage of individually sovereign states; national sovereignty *is* indivisible. Mr. Kilpatrick makes much of the fact that the Constitution refrains from use of the word "nation," and never refers to the new entity as such. But the facts of life and logic of events are incontrovertible, and today we do have a nation.

I make no claim to being a constitutional scholar, although I am as fascinated as the next man by the historical minutiae of the constitutional debates, and by the hammering out, in the years that followed, of precise applications of broad constitutional language through judicial rulings, amendments and legislative enactments. As I said earlier, the question of the proper limits of state and federal power has, in the very nature of things, been argued back and forth since the beginning. Learned minds have pressed opposing points of view with eloquence and endless documentation. The exact intent of the framers of the Constitution has been discussed pro and con at every comma and period. Into the rights and wrongs of this highly professional debate I therefore prudently refrain from entering.

Yet, as with the Bible, while exegesis is endlessly revealing, the essential meaning may be accessible to the layman guided by his reason and his conscience. A few things seem fairly clear. The very first act of the constitutional convention was to resolve the purpose of its convening, as between revising the Articles of Confederation, on the one hand, and establishing a new government, on the other. The decision was in favor of the latter course. The supremacy of the federal government was made explicit in Section 2 of Article VI, which states that the Constitution "shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

A CENTRAL ISSUE

Anyone claiming a passing acquaintance with our history recognizes that this has been a central issue in the development of our political institutions. It was the basis for the decision to replace the Articles of Confederation; it overshadowed the debates in the convention of 1787; it was reflected in scores of conflicts between states and the federal government during the first 75 years of our existence; and its ultimate expression—seceding from the union—resulted in a long and bloody Civil War.

Yet some of the postulates which advocates of state sovereignty raise as support for their position can be just as well advanced to support the opposite. For example, in his book, *The Sovereign States*, Mr. Kilpatrick quotes with approval an observation by John C. Calhoun, patron saint of the states' rights cause, as follows: "I maintain that sovereignty is in its nature indivisible. It is the supreme power in a State, and we might just as well speak of half a square, or half a triangle, as of half a sover-

eignty." Mr. Kilpatrick's citation was meant to show how unlikely it was that any state would have consented to diminish its sovereignty; but it is also a cogent statement of the reason why the *central government* inevitably had to possess and exercise the supreme sovereignty.

CONSTITUTION REPRESENTS COMPROMISES

It is equally clear that the Constitution represented many compromises. Compromise was essential if there was to be a Constitution, and many of these were majority compromises with the minority, in the interest of obtaining the maximum number of signatories. It was natural also that states which had maintained an uneasy and suspicious alliance during the war, and which had numerous actual and potential points of difference, should find it hard at first to pull in harness. It was understandable, in view of the war itself, that there should be an excessive fear of central government. As I read my history, and as it was taught, I suspect, to most of those who read this, the federal-state conflicts antedating the Civil War were the inescapable growing pains of a people feeling its way to genuine nationhood.

In the beginning, people were citizens of states. It took time and change and tension and conflict to build a national consciousness which would ultimately supersede the older in the place of primary loyalty. This development of national consciousness was arrested in the South, which, has lagged behind the rest of the nation in that respect, even since the Civil War. The extent of southern divergence has not always been apparent, but a characteristic expression of it is found in these lines from an editorial in the Natchez, Mississippi, *Democrat* of April 28, 1956:

> We cannot admit that the education of our children is a matter of national concern. . . . It makes no material difference to a citizen of California or Maine whether certain standards are maintained in Mississippi or in Natchez. This is the concern of the people of this state and community.
>
> But the California boy who must serve in an army which includes boys from Mississippi has, I contend, a very real interest in how that Mississippi boy was educated; and vice versa. And the congressman or senator from Mississippi, however trained or mistrained, makes laws for Maine as well as Mississippi.

Until the southern lag is overcome, it is likely that we shall continue to experience constitutional crises which will drain our energies, and hamper our maintenance of national leadership in the world's affairs. For nationhood and national sovereignty are incompatible with an arrangement under whose terms components of the nation may nullify national decisions at will.

The argument that we are not a nation because the Constitution does not say we are one is analogous to the argument that we should abolish the function of political parties in our electoral life, since parties are not mentioned there. No mention is made of the ether, but national control of radio waves and channels has nevertheless proceeded in accordance with demonstrated need.

In plain fact, there is just no reversing the course of 170 years' development, no matter how cleverly or eloquently a case is made as to the founding fathers' intentions. This irreversibility is shared, of course, by the 14th Amendment. States' righters take the sharpest exception to this Amendment on the ground that its ratification by southern legislatures was obtained under some form of duress. But the 14th Amendment has not only been the chief constitutional bulwark of the rights of Negroes: for the first 50 years of its existence, it was invoked almost exclusively in corporate litigation involving the regulatory powers of the states. Our whole present body of regulatory corporation law and the long-established patterns of accommodation to it rest upon this amendment. Reversal would entail the most profound readjustments. A country which rejects an otherwise desirable calendar reform because of the dislocation and inconvenience it would entail is most unlikely to turn back the constitutional clock as desired by Mr. Kilpatrick.

ARID MICROSCOPY

Unless, that is, a compelling case could be made for it. But I submit that infinitely more is needed for this than the arid microscopy of old debates and ancient litigation which has thus far been offered. Even if it could be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the makers of the Constitution definitely intended the states to have the sovereignty my opponent advocates, the argument for reversal would be less than compelling. After all, the founding fathers also meant the electoral college system to be something other than it is now, but this intention did not even survive the first four presidential elections.

No, it is necessary to make an ethical and a practical case for state sovereignty of such force as to override the monumental objections. The advocates must find means to demonstrate that, as a governmental medium, a state has something so uniquely desirable, so undeniably better, so divinely ordained, if you will, that it is clearly superior to government by any other defined entity. It is not enough that the states happen to exist as such: it must be shown, for example, that the merits of local control of local matters are better served by a state than by, say, a county or a municipality. Or by a region. State government must be seen to be so surpassingly preferable that it is worth almost any amount of trouble to make it supreme. Certainly, a sterile nostalgia for the cultural and political elegancies of the mid-eighteenth century does not furnish a convincing argument.

And what of the argument that state power is insurance against unwarranted encroachment by the national government on individual rights and privileges? What is to curb the *state's* power when it is the exclusive possession of one group or one class of citizens, who use it to further their own group or class interests and to exclude other groups and classes from a share in the power? For this is precisely the way in which state power has been employed by the white citizenry of the

South against their Negro fellow-citizens since the very beginning. This is the reason for the 14th Amendment, which interposed the guardian shield of the federal government between its Negro citizens and the rapacity of those in control of the states.

In point of fact, it would be hard to find a single instance since 1865 in which state power has been invoked as a protection against invasion of individual rights of citizens by the federal government. So far as the Negro in the South is concerned, the state sovereignty has been *uniformly* oppressive. The sole exception was the ten years of federal reconstruction when, despite excesses which have usually been exaggerated out of all reason, a glimmer of hope for Negro-white citizen partnership was permitted to glow for a too-brief period.

STATES' WRONGS

To the southern Negro, the phrase has consistently meant "states' wrongs" rather than states' rights. Although the 15th Amendment gave the Negro the right to vote, the South proceeded to deny this right, employing every kind of subterfuge for the purpose. The first Supreme Court decision against these devices was rendered in 1915; thereafter, it took 30 years of NAACP litigation before the last major hurdle was overcome by the same route. At every step of the way, efforts by instrumentalities of the federal government to ensure the Negro his voting rights were bitterly fought on the ground that they violated states' rights. Even today, in the face of unconscionable disfranchisement, the right of federal agencies to investigate vote denials is resisted in Alabama and Mississippi as an unwarranted invasion of state sovereignty.

Let it appear always on the record, by the way, that Negroes sought justice in the federal courts only when its denial to them through the states' agencies and courts was final and explicit. Thus, when years of effort failed to achieve equal pay scales for Negro teachers, redress was obtained via the federal courts. This was of course denounced as a violation of state sovereignty.

When Negro students sought to enter the universities of their own states, to be trained as lawyers and doctors and to pursue graduate specialties, the way was again blocked. Again, the United States Supreme Court in a succession of decisions affirmed basic constitutional rights and Negroes were admitted to southern state universities. Again, these decisions were tenaciously opposed and were greeted one by one with loud outcries and bitter complaints that the rights of the states were being trampled.

When Negroes insisted that they should be able to buy Pullman sleeping accommodations on trains anywhere in the United States; when they demanded admission to dining cars like any other passengers; when their patience with the humiliation of segregated seating reached its end; they found opposed to them the doctrine that their exclusion was a matter of states' rights; and they accordingly sought redress by the federal route.

When, in the face of Negro lynchings at the rate of over 100 a year,

federal intervention was sought to create some element of protection, once again the states' rights cry was lifted in outrage. Although it was obvious that southern law officers, with few exceptions, were either powerless or lacked the desire to protect accused Negroes from lynch mobs, it was still asserted *ad nauseam* that effective measures would violate state sovereignty.

REASONS LYNCHINGS DECLINED

As a matter of fact, no federal anti-lynching law was ever passed. But, in 1920, the first year in which such a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, the number of lynchings fell from over 100 to 65. In 1922 the bill passed the House, only to be filibustered to death in the Senate; and lynchings dropped to 28 in 1922 and to 16 in 1923. The change was so abrupt as to leave no doubt that it represented, not the general modification of racial attitudes so often claimed on its account, but a simple tightening of the screws by southern leadership, forced at long last to take some remedial action by the clear threat of federal action in its absence.

This was evident, not only to the NAACP, which had spearheaded the fight for the legislation, but to members of Congress as well. In a report to the 68th Congress, January 19, 1924, the House Judiciary Committee included this observation:

> Lynchings, according to the reports reaching the public, have been decreasing in the last four or five years. Some would have us believe that this is due to causes that make action by the Congress unnecessary. We do not agree with those. We believe that the decrease is due to the publicity given this crime, and the fear of a law by the United States providing for punishment for those who participate in and are responsible for lynchings.

It is not to be doubted that the 1922 and 1923 lynch totals would have been on a par with those of earlier years, had there not been vigorous agitation and publicity and the strong threat of a federal law. Indeed, it is safe to say that several score Negroes were alive in 1924 who would have been done to death by mobs if there had not been this kind of pressure.

Today, incidentally, the terror and intimidation function, served for so many years by lynchings, has been assumed pretty much by law enforcement officers in the rural and backwoods South. Killings of prisoners trying to escape while handcuffed between two deputies in a moving car are still an occasional feature of the local landscape. And attempts to bring an end to this through federal means are hotly countered as infringements of states' rights.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ESSENTIAL

The bare outlines of the long and unsavory record of southern invocation of states' rights in order to suppress Negro rights can be little more than suggestive. But it is as plain as plain can be that, if integration is to be achieved at all, the initiative must very often, in the first instance, be via the enforcement powers of the federal government, *including those that may be added from time to time*. This does not in any remote sense rule out or minimize the vital role of education and persuasion. These are and will continue to be

essential; they are and will continue to be paramount in the plans and programs of the NAACP and like-minded organizations. But clear and positive enforcement of law is also an essential element in persuasion. It is especially necessary under conditions of the kind I have implied in the foregoing, where the will to comply is either lacking or so disparately held as to fail for want of focus and leadership.

Since there is virtually no record of a southern state ever relaxing the grip of segregation entirely on a voluntary basis, it is evident that there must be pressure to bring about school desegregation. Understanding and sympathetic pressure, to be sure, but determined and consistent pressure also. No one would be happier than I to see signs of spontaneous acceptance, by the politicians and publicists of the South, of the moral and legal verities which underlie the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. If this occurred or were manifestly in process, I, too, might become a staunch advocate of states' rights.

I am reminded of the often-advanced segregationist thesis that the Negro must *earn* his rights, must demonstrate that he deserves to be treated as a full and equal citizen. Leaving aside the facts that nothing in the Constitution erects such requirements and that no other group in our history has been faced with them, I happily apply the same argument to the states of the South. Let them demonstrate, by adopting a course of justice and decency toward their Negro citizens, that they deserve to exercise sovereignty, and I should be the last to say them nay.

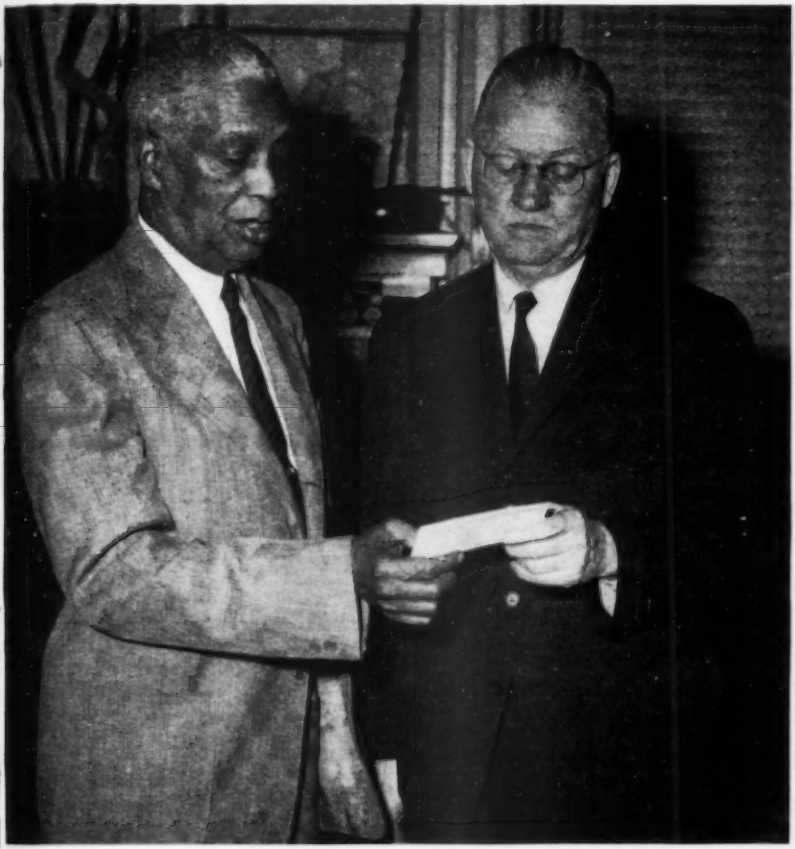
Let them show, specifically, that they do not share the sentiment of this concluding paragraph from Mr. Kilpatrick's editorial of June 1, 1955, the day after the Supreme Court handed down its implementation order:

> Yesterday's opinion of the Supreme Court ended nothing. It changed nothing. And if it be said that the Court's opinion was conciliatory, we would reply that the South is no more of a mind to conciliate on Wednesday than it was on Tuesday. When the court proposes that its social revolution be imposed upon the South 'as soon as practicable,' there are those of us who would respond that 'as soon as practicable' means never at all.

ENFORCED SEGREGATION MUST GO

Let there be no mistake about it. Justice and morality alike demand the the curse of enforced segregation because of race be lifted from the hearts and minds of the two million Negro children still subject to it. It is no academic issue, to be satisfied by an abstract legal victory in the courts. These children carry a double burden: the handicap imposed by their own educational deprivation and the heritage of cumulative disadvantages accruing from their parents' similar or worse deprivations. Here is the breeding place of frustration and impaired ambition and deficient motivation. No wonder performance is often less than normal; no wonder some strike back senselessly and viciously at the society which they feel keeps the door of opportunity closed to them. In the words of the Catholic Bishops of the United States, assembled last

(*Continued on page* 314)



DelBrook Photo

MAYOR JOHN B. HYNES *(R) purchases the first NAACP membership in the 1959 membership drive of the Boston, Massachusetts, branch from Colonel Larkland F. Hewitt, the branch membership chairman. This interracial branch has made great progress in recent years and has set its goal at 10,000 members for 1959.*

Officers of the Prince Hall Grand Chapter of Eastern Star, Massachusett's jurisdiction, pay the first installment on their NAACP life membership to the New England Regional Conference of the NAACP.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, campaign leaders are pleased with the report on their first area mass meeting. Executixe secretary Roy Wilkins (C) holds the report.

Wiley Branton (facing mike) of Little Rock, Arkansas was the principal speaker at a very successful freedom fund banquet given by the Nashville, Tennessee, branch.

■ **A tribute to the farseeing vision of a great Abolitionist who faced his doom like a martyr**

John Brown—He Gave his Life for Black Folk

By G. W. Sherman

"OF all inspiration which America owes to Africa," says the noted Negro scholar W. E. B. DuBois, "the greatest by far is the score of heroic men whom the sorrows of these dark children called to unselfish devotion and heroic self-realization: Benezet, Garrison and Harriet Store; Sumner, Douglass and Lincoln—these and others, but above all, John Brown." DuBois points out that "John Brown worked not simply for black men—he worked with them; and he was a companion of their daily life, knew their faults and virtues, and felt, as few white Americans have felt, the bitter tragedy of their lot." John Brown, he adds, "of all Americans has perhaps come nearest to touching the real souls of black folk."

G. W. SHERMAN, a great admirer of John Brown, lives in San Jose California.

Born into a God-fearing home, on May 9, 1800, in Torrington, Connecticut, the son of Owen Brown and Ruth Mills, whose fathers had both fought for the principle that all men are created free and equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights by their Creator, John Brown was naturally predisposed to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." His father Owen Brown, who was an Abolitionist before Abolitionists were heard of, tells the story of his conversion. During the Revolution, a Mr. Thomson of Virginia moved his slaves to New Caanan, Connecticut, for safety. After it was over, his slaves rebelled, and one of the married ones ran away. Mr. Thomson declared he would take the slave's wife and children back to bondage in Virginia anyway. The matter aroused considerable discussion in the community, and was brought up before the assembled church. Mr. Thomson was asked "how he could part a man

and his wife contrary to their minds"; he replied that "he had married them himself, and did not enjoin obedience on the woman." "Ever since," Owen Brown declared, "I have been an Abolitionist."

In 1805 Owen Brown moved his family from Torrington, Connecticut, to Hudson, Ohio, where he became a cattle-raiser. During the war of 1812 he was a beef contractor for the government. Hull's disastrous campaign brought the scene of the fighting close to their home. Then a lad of twelve, John often accompanied his father to camp on business and gained an insight into war not found in history books. He heard talk of defeat, desertion, treason; saw evidences of chicanery, disease, and death that so disgusted him that "he resolved he would neither train nor drill."

BECAME AN ABOLITIONIST

An experience at this time, while driving cattle for his father in Ohio, seared the boy's conscience and confirmed him in the abolitionist cause. It is best told in his own words in which he speaks of himself as if he were the other lad:

> He was staying for a short time with a very gentlemanly landlord since a United States Marshall who held a slave boy near his own age very active, inteligent, and good feeling; & to whom John was under considerable obligation for numerous little acts of kindness. *The Master* made a great pet of John; brought him to table with his first company; & friends; called their attention to every little smart thing he *said or did;* & to the fact of his being more than a hundred miles from home with a company of cattle alone; while the *negro boy* (who was fully if not more than his equal) was badly clothed, poorly fed; & *lodged in cold weather;* & beaten before his eyes with Iron Shovels or any other thing that came first to hand. This brought John to reflect on the wretched, hopeless condition, of *Fatherless & Motherless* slave *children:* for such children have neither Fathers or Mothers to protect & provide for them. He would sometimes raise the question *is God their Father?*

A frontier town, Hudson had a log-cabin school, but John Brown's attendance was a hit-and-miss affair. "He learned nothing," he says "of Grammer; nor did he get at school so much knowledge of common Arithmetic as the Four Ground Rules." He enjoyed physical activities — running and jumping — and rough play—wrestling and snowballing, being a strong, large healthy boy. He made friends with Indian boys and learned from his father how to skin animals and tan hides. The loss of a yellow marble given him by an Indian boy and the death of an ewe lamb given him by his father were griefs which he got over, but the death of his mother, when he was eight years old, was a loss from which he never recovered. Although his stepmother was very kind to him, he "never adopted her in feeling, but continued to pine after his own Mother for years." He enjoyed the company of older and more intelligent persons, and developed an interest in history and the lives of the great.

From the age of fifteen on, "he felt," he says, "a good deal of anxiety to learn; but could only read & studdy a little; both for want of time; & on account of an inflamation of the eyes." At the age of nineteen he enrolled in the school

of the Reverend Moses Hallock of Plainfield, Massachusetts (a preparatory school for Amherst College), with the intention of becoming a minister. He brought with him a piece of leather about a foot square, which he had seasoned himself, to resole his boots, and some strips of sheepskin, about an eighth of an inch wide, for entertaining the students. The provost's son recalls his father's winding one of these strips around his finger with the boast, "I shall snap it," and the expression on young Brown's face of "kind immovableness" at his father's failure to make good his boast.

This schooling was of short duration, however. Hard times had followed the war of 1812. "Money became scarce," his father wrote, "property fell and that which I thought well bought would not bring its cost." The inflamation in John's eyes, aggravated by hard study, became so severe that he had to put away his books all together and withdraw from school. He returned home to Hudson, Ohio, and to his father's tannery there.

HIS OCCUPATIONS

On June 21, 1820, he married Dianthe Lusk, an amiable and religious girl, descended from the Adams family of Massachusetts, and they began to raise a family. These are years of joy and work, of restlessness and wandering. Now we hear of him as a tanner or land surveyor in Hudson or Franklin, Ohio; now as postmaster at Randolph, Pennsylvania, or tanner at Meadville; then they are back in Franklin, Ohio. These are disturbed and troubled years also, in which his consciousness as a family man is merged with his consciousness of the family of man. Their first child, John Jr., is born in 1821, the same year the Negro George Vesey of South Carolina is executed for insurrection. In 1824 Brown is already helping fugitive slaves escape to freedom. His son John Jr., then four or five, remembers one night when they were living in Hudson, a colored family came to the house—"the first I had ever seen." The Negro woman took him on her knee and kissed him, and he ran away, he says, "to rub the black off," fearing that she "would crock me like mother's kettle." Dianthe Brown died on August 10, 1832, with her eighth child, a new born son, a year after another Negro, Nat Turner, was executed for insurrection. On July 11, 1833, Brown married Mary Anne Day, of Whitehall, New York, who had come to take care of the motherless children on Dianthe's death, and who was just five years older than his oldest daughter Ruth. They had thirteen children—ten sons and three daughters—three dying in infancy and four in childhood.

John Brown was a devoted husband, helping his wife with her household duties and the care of the children when they were sick; stern yet affectionate with his children, using the rod, if necessary, when they were young, and relying on advice and example, when they were older. The morning was begun with family devotions on week-days as well as on Sundays, the father standing by his chair and the family participating in the reading of the scriptures; and the evening closed with the reading of one of David's psalms, of which the

father was especially fond. He held the children on his lap and sang to them when they were little, and he took an interest in what they were doing, praising their efforts and setting standards that inspired them to do their best. He brought them up to be kind and considerate of others, including Negroes, whom he remarked in one of his rare instances of humor, "behaved so much like other folk, he almost thought they were." His daughter Ruth says that her father, after singing to her one evening, asked, "How I would like to have some poor little black children that were slaves (explaining to me the meaning of slaves) come and live with us; and asked me if I would be willing to divide my food and clothes with them. He made such an impression on my sympathies," she continues, "that the first colored person that I ever saw (it was a man I met on the street in Meadville, Pa.) I felt such pity for, that I wanted to ask him if he did not want to come and live at our house."

When Brown was postmaster in Randolph, Pennsylvania, in 1834, he wrote to his brother Frederick in Ohio and outlined a plan by which the family hoped to get a Negro boy and bring him up as "our own." By this he meant giving him a knowledge in the basic subjects and instilling in him above all a fear of God. The boy was to be obtained in one of three ways: "First, try to get some Christian slaveholder to release one to us. Second, to get a free one, if no one will let us have one that is a slave. Third, if that does not succeed, we have all agreed to submit to considerable privation in order to buy one." He continues: "Jason had gone to bed; but no sooner did he hear the thing hinted, than his warm heart kindled, and he turned out to have a part in the discussion." Brown's plan at this time was simply "to get a school a-going for blacks" in Randolph; education, not force, was to be the means:

> If the young blacks of our country could once become enlightened, it would most assuredly operate on slavery like firing powder confined in rock, and all slaveholders know it well. Witness their heaven-daring laws against teaching blacks. If once the Christians in the free States would set to work in earnest in teaching the blacks, the people of the slaveholding States would find themselves constitutionally driven to set about the work of emancipation immediately.

TANNING BUSINESS RUINED

The panic of 1837 ruined his tanning business in Meadville, and the family moved back to Franklin, Ohio. There an incident occurred at a big revival of Congregationalists, Methodists and Episcopalians, at which the man answered the question he had asked as a boy, "Is God their Father?" The evangelist Avery, a spell-binder from Cleveland, was the main attraction; people from far and near obeyed the call to "Come up to the help of the Lord against the Mighty." On the second meeting night, John Brown stood up in his pew beside his family and called attention to the discrimination in seating the colored portion of the audience, saying that he did not believe "the Lord is a respector of persons." Brown offered the colored people his pew, which they accepted, and he and his family took their places by the stove. This

action created excitement in the community and resulted in the church's dropping the Browns from membership. The reason given was that they had been absent a year without reporting, but the family saw through the pretence of the letter, and were angered by it. "This was my first taste of the pro-slavery diabolism that had intrenched itself in the church," Brown declared. "I shed a few uncalled for tears over the matter, for instead I should have rejoiced in my emancipation. From that day forth, my theological shackles were a good deal broken, and I have not worn them since (to speak of,—not even for ornament."

Brown realized that he must look elsewhere for help. The church and school had failed him. He began his search for dedicated men and for a more practical plan. He found two such persons in Fayette, in a theological student at Western Reserve University, and in Frederick Douglass, editor and publisher of the periodical the *North Star*. Fayette's stories of Negro injustice and persecution on his visit to the Browns in Franklin, Ohio, in 1839, moved them deeply, and they took a solemn oath to do all in their power for the abolition of slavery. On this occasion John Brown, who generally prayed standing, fell on his knees and implored God's help on his undertaking.

At what sacrifice this re-dedication to the cause was carried out, may be judged from Douglass's account of his visit to the Browns in 1848 in Plainfield, Mass. Douglass noted the contrast between Brown's store, a substantial brick building on a prominent street, and his home in a neighborhood of mechanics and laborers, whose plainness inside and out "almost suggested destitution." Brown explained that "his simple manner of living" was "in order to save money to carry out his purposes." Douglass says that Brown "denounced slavery in look and language fierce and bitter," and had arrived at the conviction that neither "moral suasion would ever liberate the slave, or that political action would abolish the system."

It was during this visit that Brown got out a map of the United States and showed Douglass his plan for liberating slaves. He traced the Alleghany mountains from Northern New York to Harpers Ferry, Virginia, which he said "God had placed there for the emancipation of the Negro race," and they are full of "good hiding places, where large numbers of brave men . . . could baffle and elude pursuit for a long time." His purpose was "to destroy the money value of slave property," which he said "could only be done by rendering such property insecure." Douglass says he told him that "he had been for sometime looking for colored men to whom he could safely reveal his secret," and though he despaired of finding them at first, "now he saw heads of such rising in all directions." Such persons he was to find in Thomas Thomas, a Negro porter; John Copeland, a preparatory student at Oberlin College, Osborn Anderson, a printer; Lewis Leary, a saddle and harness maker; Dangerfield Newby, a slave, whose wife and children were sold after the Harpers Ferry raid; and in Shields Green, a servant and clothes

cleaner, who had been referred to Brown by Douglass, and who, when confronted with making a choice between them, replied, "I think I will go with the old man."

HELPED FUGITIVE SLAVES

In 1846 the wealthy Abolitionist Gerrit Smith acquired 100,000 acres of land in the Adirondack mountains, and offered parcels of it to free Negroes for colonization. At this time the New England wool manufacturers, who resented Brown's efforts at inaugurating wool-grading standards in the industry, refused to deal with the firm of Brown & Perkins in Akron, Ohio, who were faced with financial disaster as a result. Brown applied to Gerritt Smith for some of this land to stabilize his misfortune and to promote his plan. He was given some acreage in "a notch in the wood," at North Elba, New York, between Mt. Whiteface and the Adirondacks, and he moved his family there in 1849. A house was built with the assistance of Henry Thompson, a neighbor, who later married Brown's daughter Ruth, and they settled down to a life of sheep raising and running fugitive slaves. Brown had saved a little money and consulted with his family whether they should spend it "to furnish the parlor, or save it to buy clothing for the colored people in North Elba." They all said, "Save the money." Richard Henry Dana, author of *Two years before the Mast*, visited the family there on June 27, 1849, and found them having breakfast "in the Patriarchal style—Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their large family of children with the hired men and women, including three Negroes, all at the table together." At this time Brown was active in the Underground Railroad, having a secret room reached by a trap-door in the haymow of his barn to hide fugitive slaves on the last station of their journey to freedom. One fugitive slave, among several, he helped to escape was Jerry of Syracuse.

In the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 Brown saw "God's plan of making more Abolitionists than all the lectures we have heard for years." He encouraged his colored friends in the League of Gileadites, which he had organized, "to trust in God and keep their powder dry," and he counselled his faithful colored boy Cyrus and the other colored folk to resist capture. His family, he instructed, to "prevent any fugitive slave from being taken . . . regardless of fine or imprisonment."

Angered by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, which was a triumph for the slaveocracy, Brown wrote to his son John Jr.: "If you or any of my family are disposed to go to Kansas or Nebraska with a view to help defeat Satan and his legions, I have not a word to say, but I feel committed to operate in another part of the field." In October, his five sons—John Jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick and Salmon —set out for Kansas as homesteaders with cattle, farm implements, and fruit trees. Brown stayed at North Elba and devoted his energies to formulating his plan to attack slavery in Virginia. In June, 1855, he attended the Abolition Conven-

tion in Syracuse, delivering "a fiery speech," in which he told of his sons fighting for freedom in Kansas, and offered to go himself if the delegates approved. Funds were contributed on the spot, and Brown with his son Oliver and his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, departed for Kansas.

AVENGED SON'S MURDERS

Kansas was overrun with pro-slavery marauders from Missouri, who threatened the lives and property of free-soilers and homesteaders, and intimidated their right of political determination at the polls. Of the 63,097 votes cast, about five-sixth were fraudulent. Brown's son Frederick was murdered, while peacefully watering his stock, by Martin White, a pro-slavery minister. Brown later had an opportunity of avenging his son's murder, but instructed his men "not to harm White, but if he had any slaves, to take them." On May 21, 1856, the border ruffians sacked the free-state capitol, Lawrence, and murdered several free-soilers and burned their dwellings. Brown with his sons and a few other Free Soilers rounded up the perpetrators of these outrages and executed them at Pottawatomie on May 26 with swift retributive justice. From this time on Brown was a hunted man. His experiences in "bleeding Kansas," from 1855 on, although an interlude, afforded valuable practice in guerilla fighting and helped to recruit his men—Kagi, Stevens, Cook, Tidd, Anderson and the two Coppoc brothers, Edwin and Barclay, for his Harpers Ferry enterprise. Brown's daughter Anne later declared, "People are surprised at father's daring to invade Virginia with only twenty-three men, but I think if they knew what sort of men they were there would be less surprise. I never saw such men."

On July 3, 1859, under the name of Isaac Smith, Brown rented an old farm known as the Kennedy place, about six miles from Harpers Ferry, on the Maryland side. Gradually the other men began to arrive, and also arms and ammunition labelled as farm implements and mining tools. Brown's daughters Anne and Martha had come down at their father's request on July 19 to allay neighbors' curiosity and remained until October 1. "After breakfast," Anne says, "father usually read a chapter in the Bible, and made a plain, short sensible prayer, standing while praying." The men discussed religion and slavery and read Paine's the *Age of Reason* and the Baltimore *Sun*. "On Sunday morning, October 16," says the Negro printer Osborne Anderson, one of the survivors, "Captain Brown arose earlier than usual and called his men down to worship. He read a chapter from the Bible applicable to the condition of the slaves, and our duty as their brethren, and then offered up a fervent prayer. . . . The Services were impressive. At eight o'clock that evening, he said: 'Men, get on your arms; we will proceed to the Ferry.'"

NATURE OF RAID

"The raid was not a foray *from* the mountains," as most historians have supposed, "which failed because its retreat was cut off; but it was a foray *to* the mountains with the

(*Continued on page* 314)

Rev. John W. Lee (L), minister Bethel AME church, Amityville, Long Island, New York, presents the initial payment on an NAACP life membership to Rev. E. J. Odom, Jr., NAACP church secretary.

Mrs. Thelma Thorpe, treasurer of the Out-of-Towners Club of Cleveland, Ohio, presents Harold Williams with a $50.00 check as first payment on her club's NAACP life membership. Mrs. Doris Cooley, club secretary, is at left.

Billy Webb Lodge No. 1050 IBPOE of W is the first lodge in Portland, Oregon, to make down payment on an NAACP life membership. Brother L. C. Ellison, lodge treasurer, presents $100.00 check to branch membership chairman C. A. White.

Officers of the Bennett College chapter of the NAACP beam happily as Kelly Alexander, North Carolina state president, presents the chapter's charter to Ann Hanks, chapter president.

Detroit Co-Ettes of Memphis, Tennessee, exhibit their NAACP life membership plaque. Members of the group are (from L) Patricia Jones, Danese Hancock, Patricia Solomon, Karlotta Nelson, Carol Latting, and Patricia Patton.

Dr. William Reid of Suffolk, Virginia, one of the first two persons in Suffolk to become NAACP life members, receives a congratulatory handshake from W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia State Conference.

LITTLE GREGORY A. McLEAN, *son of Floyd D. McLean, public relations chairman of the New Jersey state conference of NAACP branches, watches Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey sign the 50th Anniversary Proclamation of the NAACP. Assembly-woman Madaline Williams, wife of NAACP national board member Samuel Williams, is also a witness to the signing.*

■ How one Negro teacher reacted in an interracial teaching situation

Interview With a Negro Teacher

By Henry Hardy

TAYLOR THOMAS, the only Negro teacher in the Urbana, Illinois, public school system, formerly taught in Danville, Illinois, where he had taught for eight years. I had this talk with Mr. Thomas while we were attending the University of Illinois summer school in 1958.

Urbana is a central Illinois town of 28,000 people and is a twin-city of Champaign, Illinois, which has a population of about 50,000. The two cities encompass the University of Illinois.

Our talk took place in the University Library, and here are my questions and Mr. Thomas's answers:

Question: How did you feel on notification of your acceptance as a teacher in Urbana?

Answer: I was shocked. I could not believe in my good fortune. It was a sobering thought, however, when I realized the importance of my selection. I was the first Negro. It's like being a subject in an experiment. I can appreciate what Jackie Robinson went through when he broke into the majors.

Q: When did you reach your decision to accept or reject the offer?

A: I accepted immediately. My wife, Mary, was as excited as I was. I would have been crazy to reject the offer.

Q: Well, what was the position offered you?

A: I was assigned to the social studies division in the junior and senior high schools, specializing in history. I wanted to work in senior high only, but I accepted anything to "get my foot in the door." As it stands now, I will be teaching only high school in the coming school year.

Q: What was the students' initial reaction to you?

HENRY HARDY lives in Lovejoy, Illinois.

A: It was okay. They received me graciously and displayed no condescension or open hostility. I was treated the same as any white teacher.

Q: Have you had any real trouble or unpleasantness with the faculty?

A: No. The closest incident, tinged with racial implications, happened when a group of Negro students from Champaign visited the Urbana high school and made noise in the halls, creating a disturbance. Later a teacher remarked that "it was those Negroes from Champaign." She apologized to me but it wasn't necessary as my feelings were not hurt.

Q: All right, but have you been accepted by the faculty?

A: Well, I'm confident the faculty has come to regard me as they do any white teacher. For example, I have been chosen chairman of various school committees. I was treasurer of last year's Urbana Teacher's Association and this year [1958] I was selected vice-president. The vice-presidency is usually the stepping stone to the presidency. In fact, I have been assured of the post by the school administrators.

I might add that I will have the honor this fall of teaching the first sociology course ever taught at the school. The administration went along with my suggestion to include the course. The faculty also supported me for the presidency of the Council of Social Studies Teachers, which is a regional organization. I am the first Negro to hold the post.

Q: Has your being a Negro affected the way you conduct your classes?

A: Definitely not. There is free discussion of ideas and opinions. We discuss religion, race, or any other worthwhile topic. The Little Rock integration struggle was discussed extensively by my students. I encourage them to discuss problems freely to avoid incidents. One student told me he wanted to say more about integration but was afraid of offending me.

Q: Then, how have the students responded to you?

A: This can be answered by an incident which happened to me during the last school year. School was going to be dismissed for a day and some of my 7th grade students wondered why. I jokingly said that it was to celebrate my birthday and forget about it.

The next morning I walked into my classroom and saw a large box sitting on the desk. Opening it, I found a stick of bubblegum on top of a picture of Elvis Presley. The class began to laugh and sing "happy birthday." After their joke, they gave me a shirt and tie. My next class was the 8th grade. A big cake was on the desk when I entered the room. After giving the students some cake, I called in the principal and we all ate cake and sang songs. I had the honor of singing a solo. The cake had been baked by some of the girl students and on returning the plate to a girl's mother, I was told how much effort was put into making the cake. It gave me a warm glow inside. I guess I'll always remember those classes. They let me know that I belonged.

Q: What would you say about the possibilities of more Negro school teachers getting jobs in Urbana?

A: I would not say that more Negro teachers will be hired than whites, but a representative number, equivalent to the Negro population in Urbana, will be hired. Incidentally, two Negro teachers have been hired for the coming school year. The trend is growing.

Q: Can you explain why Champaign doesn't have more Negro teachers since the Negro population there is larger than it is in Urbana?

A: The school board simply doesn't want integration. The administration is against it. The superintendent is not too much interested and "sort of rides the fence."

Q: Do you think that you will land an administrative position in the school system?

A: I can only say that it will take time for me or for any other Negro to move into an administrative position.

I think, though, that if I do advance, it will be because of my achievements, and not because my superiors feel sorry for me.

Q: What about the charges that you drive yourself by accepting unnecessary responsibilities? Are they true?

A: Yes. I want to prove that a Negro can do something. If I can change some of the stereotyped ideas about Negroes, I will have accomplished something. If I were not a Negro, I could allow myself more time for relaxation.

Q: What about Negro students? What difficulty does the Negro student experience as he grows up?

A: When I was growing up, I had to suffer through a great deal of discrimination and prejudice. At Champaign High School, I was denied the right to participate in the school band. Although I had won a letter in football, I could not join the school's athletic club.

The Negro student's greatest problem today is social. He must regulate himself to a particular group standard. He must act one way when he is among Negroes and differently in associating with whites. It is a problem that is not easily solved and can create trouble within his own group.

But the Negro student has a better chance to advance today, I feel sure. When I was growing up, the only jobs available were preaching and teaching positions in Negro schools. Today, the Negro must prepare himself for better positions which are available — this is his most important task.

Q: How is your social life after the school day is over?

A: My wife and I have been invited to the houses of many of the teachers for bridge and parties. I have little time to myself, as a matter of fact.

(As Thomas talked with me, his principal saw him and came over to converse with him. Later, the supervisor of his department of Social Studies also saw him and chatted with him. These are indications that he has been accepted.)

When I asked Mr. Thomas if he would discuss some aspects of segregation in Champaign-Urbana, he replied:

"There definitely is a problem in school integration." He then told me of a case involving Mrs. Lizzie Johnson, a Negro principal of a Champaign elementary school. Mrs. Johnson made recommendations to the

district school board which were not accepted. She resigned. She wanted time to run administrative duties of the school as principal. At this time she was teaching half-time and performing administrative duties the other half. She complained that white principals received better treatment. However, when she protested, the school board told her that it was "economically unsound" to do the same with Negro schools.

Thomas stated that the drawing of boundary lines also caused Mrs. Johnson to be concerned. She alleged that boundary lines restricted Negroes from attending white schools. Mrs. Johnson said, "The establishing of boundary lines throughout Champaign would be a step in solving the integration problem. I want integration in schools other than Willard, Lawhead, and Washington. (These are Negro elementary schools.) The children from these three schools should have the opportunity to attend classes with white children before they reach the junior high level," Mrs. Johnson's dispute was concerned with the elementary schools; the junior high and high schools are integrated. Only a few Negroes attend Marquette Elementary School.

Thomas said that Mrs. Johnson refused to teach in a school system which "taught democracy but did not practice it." A statement by Mrs. Johnson to a local newspaper read as follows:

> Pupils, by and large, will learn to read and write and figure enough to get by. But pupils need a great deal of guidance and training and practice in this intangible training for good citizenship if they are to live in the present world and accept global responsibilities.
>
> I resigned because I believe that to be a citizen means to recognize and obey the laws of the local, state, and national governments. I, in my present position, am not obeying the law which prevents school districts from accepting state reimbursement if the schools are segregated by virtue of the failure of the board to establish and enforce definite boundary lines, while at the same time, establishing restricting areas and then not living up to those areas and permitting violations.
>
> Not only as a teacher, but as a parent with two children in the public schools, have I realized the "wrongness" of our system of education in Champaign.

Thomas said that Mrs. Johnson had no backing on the issue from school officials and was prompted further to resign when her two children were denied admission to a white elementary school. School authorities claimed that her children were outside the boundary lines.

According to Thomas, school officials were right in their assertion, but it was common practice to ignore boundary lines. "Had her children not been Negroes, I doubt whether she would have encountered any difficulty in placing them in the school.

"She was right in her contention that Negroes are receiving a 'raw deal.' At any rate, Mrs. Johnson would not accept secondary treatment, and resigned."

Mrs. Johnson is now teaching in the Decatur, Ill., school system, becoming the first Negro so appointed. Persistence paid off for her and opened the door for other Negroes. The Decatur school system has re-

cently hired a Negro athletic-instructor-coach.

Although Mrs. Johnson's charges are justified, Thomas believes they do not represent the entire picture of school integration. Thomas contends that housing for Negroes is the greatest obstacle to achieving better integration. In cases where Negroes apply for teaching positions, it is especially true. He believes that if the housing situation for Negroes improved, there would be more Negro teachers in the school system.

Thomas gave the following illustration of the housing situation. A young Negro teacher was offered a post at the University-sponsored University High School for outstanding students. The teacher was eager for the job and anticipated accepting. On his arrival, however, he could find no suitable housing for his family. Real estate dealers refused to sell to a Negro. The young man, rather than move into a rowdy section of either city, turned down the offer. Thomas said such incidents have occurred all too often.

He pointed out that real estate dealers refuse to sell to Negroes regardless of circumstances. "I have felt the brunt of such practice. I want to buy a house, but find that I am unable to do so."

Returning to the education problem, Thomas stated: "Once the housing problem is mastered, the Negro will stand a chance to secure better positions and will want to accept the positions which poor housing caused him to pass up. Few people realize that housing is the crux of continued segregation against the Negro teacher. Everyone seems to be choking on a gnat, blaming the school administrators, and ignoring the housing situation."

With these words, Taylor Thomas closed the interview, made his way toward the library door and headed for home. The thought came to me that he is a Negro who has successfully navigated the paths of divided relations between the Negro and the white in education.

Horace H. Scott (R), right worthy grand secretary of the Independent Order of St. Luke, Richmond, Virginia, makes St. Luke's initial payment on NAACP life membership to Dr. J. M. Tinsley, chairman of the Virginia state conference life membership committee. Others in picture are W. Lester Banks and Mrs. Hattie Walker, retired secretary of St. Luke.

Wherever Civil Rights
are Denied or
Violated . . .

YOU CAN COUNT ONH

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN JACKIE ROBINSON DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander
George A. Beavers, Jr.
Bishop W. Y. Bell
Dr. George D. Cannon
Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Nathaniel Colley
Hon. Hubert T. Delany
Earl B. Dickerson
Mrs. Arthur H. Frederick
Dr. S. Ralph Harlow
Bishop Eugene C. Hatcher
Hon. Carl R. Johnson
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Dr. Robert H. Johnson
Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin
Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Mrs. Rose Morgan Louis
Bishop. Edgar A. Love
Dr. James J. McClendon
Dr. Maurice Rabb
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Mrs. Nellie G. Roulhac
Ike Smalls
Dr. Alfred E. Thomas, Jr.
Frederick N. Weathers
Mrs. Pauline F. Weeden

Send to
your local branch
or the
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check for $ _____
as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose a check for $500.00 for full Life Membership.

Name _____

Street _____

City and State _____

Annual installments of as little as $50.00 or more, sent to either your local branch of the NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

HE NAACP FOR VIGILANT ACTION

Join as a Life Member today!

The NAACP is not a debating society. It does not mouth platitudes about equality and justice and then forget about them. It is an organization dedicated to fighting action! It will not back down; it will not give up. It fights on every front for Negro equality under the law of the land. This organization deserves—and needs—your strongest support. Subscribe as a Life Member in NAACP today!

Looking and Listening . . .

"CRIME AND DESEGREGATION"

ONE of the silliest arguments against integration of schools is that mixing of the races in public school classrooms will increase the juvenile delinquency rate. Here is a refutation from the *Washington Post* (March 3, 1959):

The District Welfare Department's report on juvenile delinquency comes as a quiet anticlimax to the charges that integrated schools in Washington are spawning crime. According to the Department, delinquency among Negro youths has fallen off sharply from 1954 to 1958—the period in which the local schools were desegregated. Statistically, the rate dropped from 37.1 per 1000 children to 21.2, while delinquency rates remained stable among white children during the same period.

It would be a too simple generalization to attribute this salutary drop solely to the change in the school system; palpably, as Welfare Director Shea points out, the work of the Youth Council, area boards and the youth division of the Police Department have contributed to this decline. Yet it is also a reckless generalization to blame any juvenile crime that does persist on the integrated schools. This seems to be the argument made by several Southern newspapers, and it is clearly implied in statements made by Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) after his "objective" investigation of the schools.

Whenever distressing news about Washington juveniles is brought to light, Mr. Davis and his henchmen are the first to trumpet the tidings to the South. We trust that Mr. Davis will show equal zeal in telling about this wholesome and encouraging trend as well.

AFRICA AND CHRISTIANITY

AT THE AFRICA FREEDON DAY rally in New York City on April 15, Tom Mboya, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council, wondered why the Christian nations of the Free World seldom criticized the unchristian practices which are so widespread throughout that continent. M. S. B. touches on this same problem in *Christianity and Crisis* (April 13) in "Africa Tests Christian Understanding":

Christians of all lands desire that Africans should be enabled to come to full stature, to play their part in the Church and in the world. But not all Christians are prepared to make or to expect the changes that African development requires in the position of "European" and other non-African factors in that continent. The legacy of the African past and the inheritance of the colonial past are being transmuted into fuller life for Africans through a period bound to bring conflict and pain to many. Our Christian public may be better prepared to meet particular strains and crises if we contemplate them in preview. . . .

African nationalisms naturally grow from and by resentments against European controls and privileges. . . .

The period of critical transition has already brought some difficult chapters for churches and African Christians,

United Press International

FROM PAINTER TO PLAYRIGHT—*Lorraine Hansberry, 28, author of the dramatic hit, "A Raisin in the Sun," wanted to be a painter. But when she found, to use her own words, that she was a "lousy painter," she turned to writing. "A Raisin in the Sun" won the New York Drama Critics Circle award for the best American play of the season. Miss Hansberry's play is the first Broadway play ever directed by a Negro — Lloyd Richards. It stars Sidney Poitier and Claudia McNeil, with a very able supporting cast.*

for missions and missionaries; and worse may be expected. In these circles wholesome nationalism is to the good, encouraging responsible concern for the larger community and its welfare. Particularly is this true where the regime is more or less related to Catholicism and to the European continent, and is inclined to regard as alien those churches and missions that are Protestant and British or American.

Furthermore, an individual African leader and his movement may demand the active support of Christians, accusing them of traitorous cooperation with colonialism if they cannot see in him the nation of their vision. Should the African pastor lead his flock and community toward the goal of independent nationhood, with all the risks involved; or should he and the Church stand aside from the major issue of the time, proclaiming an otherworldly spirituality and a moral view no wider than the village?

In some situations African Christians, baffled and resentful in half-understood inadequacies, have accused the missions of bad faith in not providing them with a complete and diverse system of education and accompanying economic benefits, in not equipping the churches with pastors the full equals of missionaries in training and in status. When the true and the professed aim of the missions is to develop an African church, any failing may be attributed to the "colonialism," the paternalistic self-interest of missions and missionaries.

The lives and well-being of missionaries, as of some African Christian leaders, may in some circumstances be endangered because some African elements consign them to a hated category; and many missionaries suffer in morale because their effectiveness seems to be impaired or their earlier understanding with African associates is damaged. Yet this moment and the apparent future desperately require the best of faithful, alert, competent missionary service in and for African churches.

North American and transatlantic Christians and churches need an informed devoted concern for the life that is Africa, dependable through crises that may be frequent, trusting that the Spirit of God works and will work in the renewal of African persons and communities as the old orders of tribe and colony are shaken.

"THE HORIZON"

These excerpts from "The Horizon," a news section carried in THE CRISIS *for many years, reveal the striking advance which we as a group have made during the last forty-two years. These items come from a subsection of "The Horizon" called "Ghetto"* (THE CRISIS, *June, 1917*). *They are worth pondering during this our Fiftieth Anniversary observance.*

JOHN RANDOLPH, the famous Virginian statesman, said in his will: "I give and bequeath to all my slaves their freedom, heartily regretting that I have ever been the owner of one." He also willed $15,000 for the purchase of land for them. William Leigh, his executor, bought land in Mercer County, Ohio, but the residents refused to let the Negroes come there. Leigh then sold the land in 1846. Heirs of the slaves in August, 1907, sued for their interest in the land, but the Ohio Supreme court rendered a decision March 20, 1917, upholding Leigh in disposing of it.

¶ Negroes in Richmond, Va., have organized to fight segregation, and the Civic Improvement League has

registered a strong protest against Richmond's ordinance.

¶ Segregation of the Negro population of Chicago into restricted sections by legislative action has been proposed and will be pushed by the Chicago Real Estate Board. While the committee which drafted the resolutions was composed of representatives of both races, the colored people opposed the passage of the suggestions embodied in the committee's report, and the majority of them withdrew from the meeting. At one point in the discussion, E. F. Manns, a colored real estate broker, threatened that if the resolutions were passed the most desirable sections of the city would be invaded by Negroes.

¶ The boxing commission has drawn a line on mixed bouts in Ohio.

¶ A bill has been introduced into the Indiana Legislature for the appropriation of $25,000 to establish a Housemaid's Training School for colored women at New Albany.

¶ White residents are protesting against the erection of a colored hospital and orphanage at Chelsea avenue and Ayres street, Memphis, Tenn.

¶ Because Gladys Willis, a colored girl in the Waynesboro, Pa. high school, has been selected to deliver one of the essays at the commencement exercises on account of her high marks, several of the white students have threatened to refuse to appear on the stage commencement night.

¶ The white matron of the dining room of the University of Illinois gave the colored girl students notice that they were to be segregated in the dining room. The girls referred the matter to Major R. R. Jackson, who learned from President Edmond James that the order was a "misunderstanding," and that it would be corrected at once.

¶ The "jim crow" post office window at Pensacola, Fla., has been abolished by order of the Department at Washington.

¶ A bill which would allow jim crow schools in Pennsylvania has been quietly introduced into the Pennsylvania Legislature. It slipped through the Senate before anyone knew what it meant. Colored people are organizing to stop its further progress.

¶ Miss Malinda Phifer, a colored girl, has sued the Strand Theatre of Delaware, Ohio, for discrimination.

¶ The validity of the many Negro segregation ordinances passed in many cities was argued again before the full bench of the Supreme Court at Washington, D. C., April 27.

¶ Several hundred white laborers on the half-million dollar fire brick factory of the General Refractories Company, Olive Hill, Ky., are trying to oppose the introduction of colored labor.

¶ Three sophomores of Howard University offered to join the navy. When they asked what service would be required of them they were told they would be assigned to the "mess department"—that is, to the dining room service. The boys returned to Howard.

¶ In Mansfield, La., E. L. Calhoun, a white man convicted of the murder of Green Columbia, a Negro, was given a jail sentence of thirty minutes in a cell and discharged.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

VIRGINIA'S ANTI-NAACP LAWS

THE United States Supreme Court has been asked to affirm the decision of a three-judge federal district court which last year voided three Virginia statutes designed to restrict the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Argument on the joint NAACP and NAACP Legal Defense Fund brief, filed on March 16, were heard by the Court on March 23 with Thurgood Marshall, director-council of the Legal Defense Fund, representing the organizations.

The case is before the Supreme Court on appeal by the State of Virginia from the lower court ruling handed down on January 21, 1958. In a two-to-one split decision the district court then held three of the five anti-NAACP statutes unconstitutional and enjoined their enforcement. The remaining laws were referred to the state court for interpretation.

"If the Acts of the General Assembly should be held to outlaw the activities of" the NAACP and the Legal Defence Fund, the decision declared the state "would be free to use all its resources in its search for lawful methods to postpone and, if possible, defeat the established constitutional rights of a body of its citizens, while the colored people of the state would be deprived of the resources needed to resist the attack in the state and federal courts. The duty of this court to avoid such a situation, if possible, is manifest."

The laws enjoined by the federal district court require:

- Annual filing of lists of names and addresses of members and, if requested, names and addresses of contributors to the two organizations;
- Registration of both corporations before advocating compliance with the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings in the public school cases, before soliciting funds to be used for litigation involving racial segregation and, in the case of the NAACP, before opposing or sponsoring legislation concerned with race; and to
- Prohibit lawyers from taking cases in which expenses are paid by either organization.

Enacted by an extra session of the General Assembly in 1956, the laws are part of a package of statutes comprising Virginia's "massive resistance" program. On November 28, 1956, the two organizations brought separate actions in the United States District Court for declaratory and injunctive relief against the Attorney General of Virginia and five commonwealth

attorneys alleging that the acts were violations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The present brief contends that the legislation "making further prosecution of litigation in federal courts a crime under the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia . . . is in effect an effort to curtail the jurisdiction of federal courts."

ATLANTA COURT FINE

CONTENDING that a ruling of an Atlanta court holding the NAACP in contempt and imposing a $25,000 fine "is arbitrary, unreasonable and unlawful," lawyers for the Association have asked the United States Supreme Court to reverse the refusal of the Supreme Court of Georgia to review its denial of a petition for a writ of certiorari to the Georgia Court of Appeals.

J. W. Stanberry, Jr.

MEMBERS *of the Laurel, Mississippi, NAACP youth chorus. This chorus has been traveling throughout the southeast region giving concerts at churches and community centers on behalf of the southeast regional youth program. Dr. B. E. Murph is advisor to the youth council and Edward Ferrell is president of the group.*

Cecil Layne

LES SEIZE CLUB *of New York City makes final payment on its NAACP life membership to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. This club is a long time friend of the Association; it also supports many worthy organizations in the local community. Pictured from L: Mrs. Cora Mae Pulley, Club member; Mr. Wilkins; Mrs. Mosella Swan, club financial secretary; and Mrs. Hallie Talbert, club president.*

The NAACP petition to the U.S. Supreme Court was filed on March 20, one day before the time granted by Justice Hugo Black for filing expired.

The case originated on November 21, 1956, when, unannounced, agents of the Georgia State Revenue department descended upon the NAACP regional and branch offices in Atlanta with a demand for "immediate production of all books, records and other data bearing on taxpayer's income, disbursements and expenses prepared or used by said corporation [NAACP] in the conduct of its business during the taxable years 1947 through 1955."

Such records as Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the Association's southeastern regional secretary, had in her possession were made available for inspection by the

George W. Evans, Jr.

MEMBERS *of the Baltimore, Maryland, youth council who participated in a local youth talent contest.*

revenue agents. When John C. Calhoun, then president of the Atlanta NAACP branch, requested opportunity for himself and counsel to confer with the judge before complying with the order, he and other branch officers were confronted with an order to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt. Motions filed by the NAACP to dismiss the court's ruling were overruled.

On December 14, 1956, Mr. Calhoun and the NAACP were found in contempt. The branch president was ordered committed to "the common jail" where he was held for about three hours and a fine of $25,000 was imposed upon the NAACP. Upon release, Mr. Calhoun accompanied revenue agents to the branch office where the books and records were inspected. Although released, the contempt citation against him remained pending.

Appeals through the state courts proved unavailing. Whereupon, the NAACP, claiming that the judgment and sentence of the lower court were

PRESIDENT THOMAS TIPLER, JR., *of the Kent, Ohio, branch received an unusual Christmas gift from his family—a subscription toward an NAACP life membership. Pictured with Tipler (from L) are his son John, a junior life member; Rev. Lawrence Robinson and Mrs. Tipler.*

"excessive, cruel and unusual," filed a petition in the U.S. Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of Georgia.

Signing the Association's petition were NAACP attorneys Robert L. Carter of New York, general counsel; Frank D. Reeves, Washington; A. T. Walden and D. L. Hollowell, both of Atlanta; E. E. Moore, Jr.; Romae L. Turner; and S. S. Robinson.

DETROIT FREEDOM DINNER

GROSS income from the fourth annual Freedom Fund dinner, sponsored by the Detroit branch, may exceed the $35,000 record of last year,

Arthur L. Johnson, executive secretary of the branch, has reported. With some ticket money still outstanding, Mr. Johnson said that receipts already amounted to $32,795.00.

Principal speaker at the gala affair on March 22 was NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins who reviewed the achievements of the Association during its 50-year history. Mr. Wilkins indicated the wide range of the Association's varied activities in efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation. These efforts, he pointed out, involved legal action, sponsor-

Harry H. Adams

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Dr. Roy Andrews of the Los Angeles, California, Dental Study Club presents $500.00 check to Dr. H. Claude Hudson (third from L), national board member, for the club's NAACP life membership. Others in the picture are (from L) Dr. Hampton Cloud, Dr. Thomas Boger, and Dr. Booker Tucker.*

ship of civil rights legislation, and an educational campaign to create a more favorable climate of opinion.

As a dramatic illustration of the persistent work of the NAACP in pursuit of justice for individual Negroes, Mr. Wilkins cited the Elaine, Ark., riots case of October, 1919, which was fought through the courts over a six-year period culminating in the release of the last of the 79 Negro defendants in 1925 following a U.S. Supreme Court decision ordering a new trial.

Nearly 800 guests attended the dinner, representing a cross section of the

Cecil Layne

WESTERNERS STORM EAST COAST — *Roy Wilkins (L), NAACP executive secretary, accepts $7,600 check from Association's west coast field secretary Tarea Pittman (back to camera). At center is Franklin H. Williams, west coast regional secretary-counsel. Looking on is Loren Miller of Los Angeles, a member of the NAACP board of directors. Presentation was made at the Association's annual fellowship dinner held at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, New York City.*

official, political, business, professional, civic, social and trade union leadership of the community. Heading the planning committee for the $100-a-couple dinner were Dr. DeWitt T. Burton, chairman, and Dr. Lionel F. Swann, co-chairman. The annual event was initiated four years ago by Dr. Alf E. Thomas, Jr.

President of the Detroit branch is Edward M. Turner who expressed the branch's appreciation to the dinner patrons. Other speakers included U.S. Senator Philip A. Hart, Dr. James J. McClendon and Al Barbour, president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council.

CHARLOTTESVILLE INTEGRATION

THE agreement reached for desegregating the public schools of Charlottesville, Virginia, "suggests a path to peace and mutual respect which both white and colored Virginians can pursue with benefits to the commonwealth," NAACP executive secretary ROY Wilkins said in a letter to Dr. Philip Wyatt, president of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches.

Congratulating the Virginia NAACP and its counsel, Oliver W. Hill, on the manner in which agreement was reached on the school desegregation plan submitted by officials of Charlottesville, Mr. Wilkins recalled that "ever since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the NAACP has advocated that the proper officials in the affected areas and Negro citizens agree mutually on a plan of desegregation suitable to the communities involved and the problems existing therein."

Under the Charlottesville plan, not only the 12 Negro students already approved for admission to previously all-white schools under a federal district court order but also other Negro students will be permitted to enroll in desegregated schools in September. The plan was approved by Federal District Judge John Paul on March 30 in conference with Mr. Hill and John S. Battle, Jr., attorney for the City of Charlottesville.

The NAACP view, Mr. Wilkins asserted, "has been (and remains) that law suits should be the last resort and should be employed only when localities and states present such resistance and defiance as to leave citizens who seek their constitutional rights no alternative."

All that Negro citizens seek for their children, Mr. Wilkins said, is "that equality in educational opportunity" afforded by "a public school system that is not organized or administered on the basis of race. They seek this objective peaceably but firmly. They realize fully that a great social transition is in being and that this change requires not only patience, but honesty and fairness as well."

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Third annual installation banquet of the SAN JOSE branch was held at the Hawaiian Gardens in San Jose on January 3, with Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel at Boston University, as the guest speaker. The following officers were installed: Dr. Leo English, president; Mrs. Leon Jackson, vice-president; Dr. Donald Duncan, treasurer; Mrs. Janice Buchanan, secretary; and Mrs. Roslind Taylor, membership secretary.

Connecticut: Governor Abraham Ribicoff issued an official statement declaring February 12, 1959, as "NAACP Golden Anniversary Day." Among other things the official statement said: "Therefore, I designate Thursday, February 12, 1959, as NAACP Golden Anniversary Day in Connecticut. I congratulate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on this anniversary and wish it success in its future endeavors."

Illinois: Mrs. Kathryn LeSure of the CHICAGO branch has set a new record in financial returns for this branch. Gross receipts for the "Miss NAACP of 1958" were approximately $7,000. Receipts from NAACP tag day, sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the branch, were $4,021.09. Women of the Chicago branch have contributed more than $14,000 to the work of the NAACP.

Michigan: Annual brotherhood banquet of the KALAMAZOO branch was held on February 26 at the Student Center of Western Michigan University. Benjamin Rose, former chairman of the Michigan regional advisory board of the Anti-Defamation League, was the speaker.

New Jersey: Various aspects of housing was the subject for discussion at the February 24 meeting of the MONTCLAIR branch. The discussion was led by Joseph Greene, Jr., co-chairman of the branch housing committee.

Demonstration of the voting machine was the first feature of the regular March meeting of the JERSEY CITY branch. Second feature of the meeting was an inspiring address by Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, prominent civic and church worker.

The Jersey City branch and its youth council sponsored a program on March 15, at the Fairmount Avenue YWCA, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the NAACP. An original play, "Look Forward With Hope," by Stanley Daniels, second vice-president of the youth council, was a feature of the program.

New York: The CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch has appointed "Captain" John Alston as supervisor of its youth council.

Anniversary dance of the JAMAICA branch was held at the Linden Manor on April 17.

Pennsylvania: Attorney Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., was the featured speaker at the March 31 meeting of the GERMANTOWN branch. This meeting is one of four in a series being sponsored by the local branch in various sections of the city for the benefit of the thousands of volunteer workers who will take part in the 1959 branch membership drive.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIBER — *The Calvary Baptist church of Louisville, Kentucky, sponsored a special program during Negro history week to show recognition of the NAACP and its contribution to the community. As a result the church took out a life membership. J. E. Smith, chairman of the church trustee board, presents a $250.00 check to Dr. Maurice Rabb (L) in the presence of pastor Rev. Hollis Bell.*

The PHILADELPHIA branch has taken action to get support for the pending Pennsylvania Fair Housing Bill #322. Attorney Walter A. Gay, Jr., chairman of the branch housing committee, and Charles A. Shorter, branch executive secretary, wrote letters to City Council president James Tate and to councilmen Marshall Shepard and Samuel Rose asking them to act favorably on Bills H. B. #322 and S. B. #333.

West Virginia: First freedom fund banquet of the CHARLESTON branch was held in the dining room of the First Baptist Church on April 3, with Thurgood Marshall as the principal speaker.

Headquarters for the branch 1959 membership campaign have been opened in the basement of the First Baptist Church at 1001 Washington Street, East.

Wisconsin: The MILWAUKEE branch has announced the opening of an office at 1705 West North Avenue.

The Milwaukee branch, in cooperation with the Milwaukee Urban League and the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, sponsored a near northside community inventory on March 14 at the Lapham Neighborhood Library. 642 West North Avenue. Purpose of the conference was "to examine community strengths and weaknesses."

Candidates for the Milwaukee board of school directors appeared at a political forum, March 6, sponsored by the local branch, the League of Women Voters, the PTA, and the Vocational School.

MAKE PREPARATIONS NOW TO ATTEND

THE 50th ANNUAL CONVENTION

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR

THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

THE NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE

1909 - 1959

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 13 - JULY 19

College and School News

United States Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.) was featured speaker at the annual charter day exercises of the HOWARD UNIVERSITY Alumni Club in New York City on March 8. He spoke on the need for effective civil-rights legislation.

■

A petition campaign and a youth march for integrated schools was conducted on April 18 by the YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS. The first march on Washington was held on October 25, 1958, when 12,000 young people participated.

■

The goal for the 1959 nationwide UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND campaign is $2,500,000, according to Bruce Barton, national campaign chairman. Mr. Barton is chairman of the board of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn. The colleges will use the money to provide scholarships, improve faculty salaries, buy library and laboratory equipment, or wherever it is most needed.

■

Curtis Roosevelt has been appointed vice-president of THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, it has been announced by Dr. Hans Simons, president of the NSSR. Besides his administrative duties, Mr. Roosevelt will supervise the public relations and development activities of the NSSR and the many special events for which the school is noted.

Miriam Koshland, a free-lance writer who translates African prose and poetry into French and English, discussed the "African Idiom in Literature" at the New School on March 13. She appeared as a guest lecturer on a program conducted by

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE 12, MARYLAND

A fully accredited college of Liberal Arts open to all qualified students regardless of race, religion, nationality, sex.

- **35 areas of study in 19 departments**
- **Advanced ROTC**
- **7 national honor societies**
- **Regular, Evening, Summer Sessions**

Write:

DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

Theodore Harris, assistant executive director of the American Society of African Culture.

■

The February issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is a special edition devoted to desegregation in higher education in the South. Among the contributors are Lewis W. Jones, "issue editor"; Jessie P. Guzman, Lucile Bluford, Guy B. Johnson, Frank A. DeCosta, W. J. Trent, Jr., William E. Bittle, Elaine M. Aber, Frederick D. Patterson, Stanley H. Smith, and Charles H. Thompson.

■

The first semester honor roll at SHAW UNIVERSITY lists 65 students, of which 17 are freshman; 8, sophomores; 11, juniors; 22, seniors; 6, in the school of religion; and 1, unclassified.

Shaw observed a very stimulating religious emphasis week March 1-5, with two guests speakers: Dr. Thelma Bando, dean of women at Morgan, and Dr. Vernon Johns, dean of Maryland Baptist Center, also in Baltimore.

■

Opportunities for Negroes in industry was the theme of several talks by Dr. Harry A. Hill on the campuses of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER March 19-20. Dr. Hill is vice-president of National Polychemicals, Inc., of Wilmington, Massachusetts, and is responsible for the company's research, engineering, and production.

A personal religion as a social force was stressed by Dr. Samuel L.

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE

Established 1887 WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OVER THREE SCORE YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICE TO YOUTH

CHARLES H. WESLEY, *President*

In choosing a college, a student, his parents and advisors should give thoughtful consideration to its program of education, its character-building potentialities, its intellectual atmosphere, the scholarly standing of its faculty, the beneficial effects of its student life and student activities, and the opportunities available for education in leadership and social action. CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE is co-educational and inter-denominational, and its students are selected solely on the basis of merit without reference to race or nationality. A low faculty-student rate of one to nine provides virtual tutorial instruction and adequate educational guidance and counsel.

FULL STATE, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ACCREDITATION

CURRICULAR DIVISIONS

ARTS AND SCIENCES
BUSINESS
AGRICULTURE
EDUCATION
HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION
HOME ECONOMICS
INDUSTRIES
MILITARY SCIENCE AND TACTICS (R.O.T.C.)
MUSIC
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

For Application, Catalog and other information, write:

Registrar, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

in ATLANTIC CITY It's
The Newly Renovated
LIBERTY HOTEL
(THE HONEYMOON HAVEN)
1519 Baltic Ave. 4-1184
TOURS-VACATIONS
CONVENTIONS
Recommended by Greyhound Bus Co.
Penn. R.R. & 3A Auto Clubs.
CENTRALLY LOCATED
FREE (1) Parking (2 Lots)
(2) Room Service
(3) Golf Privileges
T.V. IN SOME ROOMS
OPEN ALL YEAR
Write us for Rates—Special Honeymoon Plan—Our 7 for 6 Plan (Stay 7 Days & Pay for 6)—and our Summer Midweek Plan (2 in room) for $20.60 for 3 days.

Gandy at the four-evening services of the university religious emphasis week. Dr. Gandy is the dean of the chapel and professor of religion at Dillard University.

The King and I, brilliant Rodgers and Hammerstein musical, was presented by the Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman Players in Howe Hall on the Spelman campus on the evenings of March 19-21. This is the first time that a major American musical play has been presented by an undergraduate school in Atlanta.

The Atlanta University School of Library Service presented Dr. Arthur B. Banks in a review of William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's *The Ugly American* on March 18, and Stringfellow Barr, author and educator, on March 24 as the final speaker on the university's arts and science forum series.

■

Alumni-Traditions Day, an annual event, was observed at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE on March 18, with the principal address being delivered by Dr. Earl C. Jackson, a 1940 Morgan graduate and a former faculty member.

Three Morgan students, one a mathematics major from Baltimore, made all "A's" the first semester to lead the 202 students who made the dean's honor list. Leading Morgan scholars are Delores Cooper, a senior from Baltimore; Basil Cateferis, a sophomore from Athens, Greece, majoring in mathematics; and Anna Squarrel, a sociology major and sophomore from Westminster, Maryland.

Gertrude Johnson has been awarded the home economics departmental scholarship for the current year at Morgan.

■

Rev. Herman C. Williams, pastor of the New Rocky Valley Baptist Church, Grambling, Louisiana, delivered the religious message at BISHOP COLLEGE on March 6.

Annual Ministers' Institute was held at Bishop April 28-May 1. Theme of the institute was "The Changing Perspectives of the Christian Ministry."

Bishop presented concert pianist Soulima Stravinsky in a concert on March 24.

■

BENEDICT COLLEGE observed its 89th founder's day on March 14, with Rev. Robert H. Wilson as the principal speaker.

■

The JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVER-

SITY Institute of Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding was held on the university campus April 6-7.

Among the speakers at the institute were Oscar Lee, executive director, department of racial and cultural relations, The National Council of Churches; Mozel Hill, professor, Columbia University; John C. Bennett, dean of faculty, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Frank P. Graham, former president, University of North Carolina; William Brewer, editor *The Journal of Negro History;* Buell Gallagher, president, College of the City of New York; Anna Hedgman, former assistant to the mayor of New York Coty; and Herman Turner, pastor, Covenant Baptist church, Atlanta, Georgia.

■

Dr. Robert W. Mance, secretary-treasurer of the AME Church, was recently founders' day speaker at MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE.

Dr. Frank Cunningham, acting president, has announced a grant of $10,000 to the college from the Danforth Foundation, which the Morris Brown Alumni Association and the board of education of the AME Church will match with a similar sum.

Morris Brown graduate Mrs. Edwina Woodard Hill, class of '53, now a teacher in Atlanta, Georgia, was awarded a Woodrow Wilson fellowship in biology for 1959-60.

■

Stringfellow Barr was third speaker in the library cultural series at DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE on April 12. Topic of his speech was "Fiction is Truer than History."

Effie Lee Morris, who has been with the New York City public library since 1955, was a speaker at the National Library Week Convocation at the college on April 14.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE was host March 26-28 to internationally famous German biochemist Dr. Feodor Lynen of Munich. Dr. Lynen has concentrated his researches primarily on problems associated with the fatty-acid cycle.

President Harold West, Doctors D. T. Rolfe, C. A. Treherne, and R. J. Cozart represented Meharry at the fifty-fifth annual Congress on Medical Licensure and Education in Chicago, Illinois, February 7-10.

Cheyney

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Cheyney, Pennsylvania

fully accredited by
The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education . . . and
The Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

PROFESSIONAL courses offered:
Elementary Education ____B.S. Degree
Home Economics ____B.S. Degree
Elementary and High School
Industrial Arts ____B.S. Degree
Elementary and High School
Graduation from a standard four-year high school required for admission.

For further information and catalog write to Registrar,
JAMES HENRY DUCKREY, President
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

The Rev. Kelly Miller Smith of the First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee spoke at the final convocation of the VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY week of prayer.

Spring tour of the University Choir took it to eight cities between March 8-March 15, with the closing concert of the tour being given in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Rabbi H. Leonard Poller of Temple Oheb Shalom, Baltimore Maryland, addressed the student body on March 3 on the subject of "Judaism and Social Justice."

■

The Rev. Dr. James H. Robinson of the Church of the Master, New York City, delivered the address at the seventy-seventh observance of founder's day at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE.

■

Leonard Jeffries, Jr., a LAFAYETTE COLLEGE (Easton, Pennsylvania) senior from Newark, New Jersey, has been awarded a Rotary Foundation fellowship for advanced study abroad during the 1959-60 academic year. He is one of 133 students from thirty-five countries to receive the honor and he plans to study political science and international relations at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland.

A dean's list student at Lafayette, Mr. Jeffiries was the first Negro ever elected president of a social fraternity, Pi Lambda Phi, on the campus.

■

William Worthy, a former Nieman fellow at Harvard and now a teaching fellow at Brandeis University, spoke at BOSTON UNIVERSITY on "Red China: Today and Tomorrow" under the auspices of the University's cosmopolitan Club on March 6.

■

The fourteenth annual Institute on Successful Marriage and Family Living, sponsored by the department of sociology, was held at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE March 11-13, with Dr. Otto Klineberg of Columbia Uni-

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

TEN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES TO SERVE *YOU*

- School of Law
- Graduate School
- School of Music
- School of Religion
- College of Medicine
- College of Dentistry
- College of Pharmacy
- School of Social Work
- College of Liberal Arts
- School of Engineering & Architecture

18 NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETIES
ADVANCED ARMY AND AIR R.O.T.C.

Write
DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

UNWANTED HAIR
Removed permanently without scars
Latest Method — Air conditioned
LEA GOLDSCHMIDT
201 W. 89th St. 1F, N.Y.C. 24
Tel. EN 2-9242 25 years experience

versity and Dr. Florence Clothier, psychiatrist and assistant to the president at Vassar, as chief consultants.

Morehouse has selected six students—James Compton, Nelson McMillan, Joseph Rodgers, Ashton Ward, Leroy Wilson, and alternates Melvin Smith and Herman Allen—to received the coveted Charles E. Merrill Awards of $3,000 each for travel and study in Europe during the academic year 1959-60.

■

Arvarh Strickland, a graduate of TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE and now a supervising principal in Canton, Mississippi, is the recipient of a Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation award for the academic year 1959-60 for doctoral study at the University of Illinois.

■

Eighty-six students are included on the semester honor roll at LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE, of which twenty-three are freshmen, fifteen sophomores, twenty-five juniors, and twenty-three seniors.

Samuel Hopkins, associate professor of biology, has been awarded a Danforth Special Teacher Grant of $4,800 for twelve months.

Dr. Frank Brown, dean of Hood Theological Seminary of Livingstone, was one of the consultants at the National Consultation of the Negro in the Christian Ministry sponsored by the department of the ministry of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

A specially designed course to familiarize prospective nature counselors with local wildlife and to prepare them to present organized nature activities is being given at THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, March 16 and 23; April 6, 13, 20 and 27; and May 11 and 18. The sessions, led by the Museum's department of public instruction, cover such topics as the identification of insects, birds, reptiles, amphibians, trees and rocks as well as the presentation of nature projects and the preparation of nature rooms and trails.

The Museum announces a two-year study of the Berber tribes of Morocco, to be carried on by anthropologist David M. Hart, which will include a survey of the social, political and cultural organization of the Berbers living in the Rif and High Atlas Mountains.

The finest private collection of moths and butterflies native to the United States—the results of a lifetime devoted to the seemingly impossible task of collecting examples of the more than five thousand known species—has been acquired by the AMNH.

The collection of the late Otto Buchholz of Roselle Park, New Jersey, numbering 125,000 specimens and including approximately ninety-five percent of the more than five thousand species of butterflies country, has been purchased by friends of the Museum for the de- and the larger moths found in this partment of insects and spiders.

SO RIGHT FOR YOUR LIBRARY!

A LIMITED SUPPLY OF BOUND VOLUMES OF

The Crisis

FOR 1956, 1957, and 1958 NOW AVAILABLE

$5.75 each postpaid

Among the authors of articles in these volumes are:

Donald Stone	August Meier
Martin Jenkins	George Padmore
Irene Diggs	William Worthy
Ndukwe Egbonu	Otto Leichter
Homer Jack	Roy Wilkins
Wilson Record	Leopold-Sedar Senghor
Arthur Spingarn	Ruth Wilson

These volumes contain vital information on the Negro and his problems.

Send check or money order now for number of volumes desired, as the supply is definitely limited.

The Crisis

20 WEST 40th STREET **NEW YORK 18, N. Y.**

Book Reviews

RACE RELATIONS

***What's Right With Race Relations.* By Harriet Harmon Dexter. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958. VIII+248 pp. $4.00.**

This book chronicles achievements in the area of race relations, and brings the late Walter White's *How Far the Promised Land?* (1955) up-to-date. Mrs. Dexter reviews summary fashion the gains made in public education, politics, office-holding, jobs, business, labor-unions, industry, and housing. She stresses the small day-to-day achievements, which demonstrate advances in race relations, to show that the screaming headlines about Little Rock or Autherine Lucy or Levittown, Pennsylvania, do not mirror present-day race relations nor indicate the progress which has been made during the past fifteen years.

So long as Mrs. Dexter summarizes advances and achievements she is comprehensive and factually accurate. Her background explanations and interpretations, however, are not always felicitous. In chapter two, "Search for a Culprit," she shows no understanding of African chattel slavery in the New World, nor does she mention the fact that the first British slaves were white. She gives the impression in chapter 4, "The Right to Civil Rights," that Negroes controlled the various Reconstruction governments and robbed the state treasuries. The Negroes were in control nowhere, not even in South Carolina where Negroes formed about sixty per cent of the population. In discussing "interracial marriage" she does not mention the fact that the "Negro" in the U.S.A. belongs to a sociological and not a biological race (hence the supposed "white" Negro, who is really a white man of Negroid ancestry), nor does she distinguish between mating (which accounts for ninety per cent of the interracial mixing) and marriage. Actually very little is known about interracial marriages in the U.S.A.

In discussing *apartheid* she stresses the Afrikaner-Nationalist explanation instead of pointing out that it stems from Afrikaner fear of the black man and the Asian. *Apartheid* is government enforced segregation and is designed to continue "the existence of the white population." Mrs. Dexter's view of race relations is moral and religious rather than sociological, but it is a testimony worth having.

J.W.I.

***The Foundations of Capitalism.* By Oliver C. Cox. With a Foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 500 pp. $7.50.**

The central theme of this book, by the author of *Caste, Class and Race*, is the pertinent question of the origins and development of the social and economic system known as capitalism. The author is concerned with description of the structural designs of capitalist societies, their integration in a worldwide system, and their cultural potentialities. The author unfolds his thesis on a broad canvas of historical processes in which these societies arose and the factors involved in the rise of modern nations as well as the role of industrialization in their development. Dr. Cox's interpretation of the essence of Marxian theory is excellent, but there will, naturally, be disagreement with facets of his historical analysis. *The Foundations of Capitalism* is a serious study which provides understanding of the world in which we live.

***That Dunbar Boy*: The Story of America's Famous Negro Poet. By Jean Gould. Illustrated by Charles Walker. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958. VIII+ 245 pp. $3.00.**

A readable biography for young people of Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906). Miss Gould tells about Dunbar's "singularly happy school career" and his youth. Dunbar graduated from public high school in Dayton, Ohio, in 1891. He was class poet in his senior year, president of a literary society, and editor-in-chief of the school paper. His first volume of poems, *Oak and Ivy*, was privately printed in 1893; *Majors and Minors*, his second volume, 1896, was reviewed at length by William Dean Howells; and his *Lyrics of Lowly Life* appeared the same year with a preface by Howells. Every page of this book is lively reading and the illustrations are vivid.

YOU CAN PUBLISH YOUR BOOK

Free illustrated brochure tells how we published, promoted and distributed books for over 3,000 authors under our 40%-royalty-subsidy plan. No charge for editorial appraisal of your manuscript. All subjects welcomed. Write Dept. TCS

EXPOSITION PRESS / 386 4th Ave., N.Y. 16

SUBSCRIBE TO THE CRISIS

$1.50 A YEAR

Some of the members of the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, youth council, which now has fifteen members. Six of the members are not depicted here.

(*Continued from page* 270)

November in national conclave:

The question then arises: Can enforced segregation be reconciled with the Christian view of our fellow man? In our judgment it cannot, and this for two fundamental reasons. (1) Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. Even if the now obsolete Court doctrine of 'separate but equal' had been carried out to the fullest extent, so that all public and semi-public facilities were in fact equal, there is nonetheless the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race. We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights. . . .

. . . (2) It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity, and housing. Flowing from these areas of neglect and discrimination are problems of health and the sordid train of evils so often associated with the consequent slum conditions. Surely Pope Pius XII must have had these conditions in mind when he said just two months ago: 'It is only too well known, alas, to what excesses pride of race and racial hate can lead.'

And, while the appeal of justice and morality should suffice men of goodwill, those who are impervious to it should not overlook the patent damage which these conditions do to the structure and potential of the nation itself. No one needs more than a glance at today's headlines to know how exceedingly close is the race for world leadership, and how dependent we are in that race on both our moral invulnerability and the maximum utilization of *all* the bodies, minds and hearts at our disposal. We do not have the time to pursue a leisurely course, we dare not forego efficient use of our manpower in order to accommodate the romantic delusions and selfish interests of a misguided regional minority. National unity and national survival cannot be jeopardized by acquiescence in injustice. Integration must move, in federal and state partnership wherever possible, but above all it *must move*.

(*Contiuued from page* 279)

village and arsenal on the way, which was defeated apparently because the arms and ammunition train failed to join the advance guard."

On October 18, a company of marines commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee and aided by Lieut. J. E. B. Stuart, overpowered Brown and his handful of men in the engine-house at the Arsenal. Half of Brown's followers were killed, including his sons Watson and Oliver, and the two Negroes, Dangerfield Newby and Lewis Sheridan Leary. Brown, captured, was speedily tried for treason, convicted, and sentenced to hang on December 2.

In Charlestown jail Brown read

his Bible and wrote letters. He steadfastly refused the consolations of southern clergymen and the persuasions of politicians. To one clergyman he said, "I will thank you to leave me alone; your prayers would be an abomination to God"; to another, "My dear sir, you know nothing about Christianity. . . . I respect you as a gentleman, of course . . . but as a heathen gentleman." To Governor Wise who abjured him to "eschew hard words and think on eternity," he replied:

Governor, I have from all appearances not more than fifteen or twenty years the start of you in the journey to that eternity of which you kindly warn me; and whether my time here shall be fifteen months, or fifteen days, or fifteen hours, I am equally prepared to go. There is an eternity behind and an eternity before; and this little speck in the centre, however long is but comparatively a minute. The difference between your tenure and mine is trifling, and I therefore tell you to be prepared. I am prepared. You have a heavy responsibility, and it behooves you to prepare more than it does me.

His wife, who had journeyed from North Elba, bid him farewell on December 1, and he left his last kiss on her lips and his blessing ringing in her ears. In one of his last letters to "my dear wife and children everyone," he admonished them "to make the Bible your daily and Nightly study," and to *"Owe no man anything* but to love one another." On the morning of his execution he visited his doomed companions—the Negroes first—Shields Green and Aaron Copeland; the white men next—Cook, Coppoc, and Stevens. He said a wishful prayer to his funeral guard, "My love to all who love their neighbors," and handed a companion a note, "I John Brown am now quite *certain* that the crimes of this *guilty land*: will never be purged away; but with Blood. I had *as I now think vainly* flattered myself that without *very much* bloodshed; it might be done."

LESSON OF BROWN'S LIFE

On December 7 John Brown was buried in the shadow of the Adirondacks, beside the great boulder in his yard at North Elba, New York, now a state park. The Abolitionist orator Wendell Phillips and the Reverend Joshua Young, of Burlington, Vermont, conducted the rites, and the Negro family of Lyman Epps sang some of his favorite hymns as he was lowered into his grave.

The lesson to be learned from John Brown's life, W. E. B. DuBois observed fifty years ago, is "that the cheapest price to pay for liberty is its cost today." Brown's words, spoken then, are true today:

You had better—all you people of the South—prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it, and the sooner you commence that preparation, the better for you. You may dispose of me very easily—I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled. This Negro question, I mean. The end of that is not yet.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE CRISIS

$1.50 A YEAR

WHO SAYS OUR BUSINESSMEN AND PROFESSIONALS ARE SLACKERS?

"All those folks want is my money," or, "I wouldn't give him any of my business."

Who hasn't heard such talk from some of our people?

Well, NAACP records say . . . in black and white, that this just isn't true. Our records show Negro business and professionals playing vital roles in branch leadership. Many are life members. In many branches, lawyers, doctors, dentists and self employed business men lead the civil rights fight. In others, the clergy forms a bulwark. Insurance agencies and other businesses have rendered staunch, consistent support.

Yes, an important challenge like civil rights can only be answered from the heart, with intelligence, sincerity and *action*. Civil rights concern is good business. Negroes today appreciate, respect and demand such concern from those they do business with.

So, why not let folks know where you stand. Why not make your shop or office an NAACP membership station. No expense. Convenient. You simply distribute NAACP membership envelopes to folks coming in . . . or, leave them in a convenient spot. Handsome poster available FREE. Let folks see you as you really are. Fill out this coupon today. Prejudice doesn't wait!!!

Miss Lucille Black, Membership Secretary
NAACP (or Fifth floor, if you prefer)
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Miss Black:

I am anxious to prove that business and professionals are not selfish when it comes to civil rights. Please send particulars on NAACP membership stations.

Name _____ BUSINESS OR PROFESSION _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

50th ANNIVERSARY MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN
GOAL: 500,000 MEMBERS

Fill Out and send to your local Branch or NAACP
20 West 40th Street, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

I pledge my continued cooperation to keep the NAACP strong and militant in the integration struggle.

I am enclosing $.....for the following memberships:

(Name)	(Address)	(Amount)
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....

(List additional memberships and/or contributions on separate sheet)

Solicited by: Name: .....

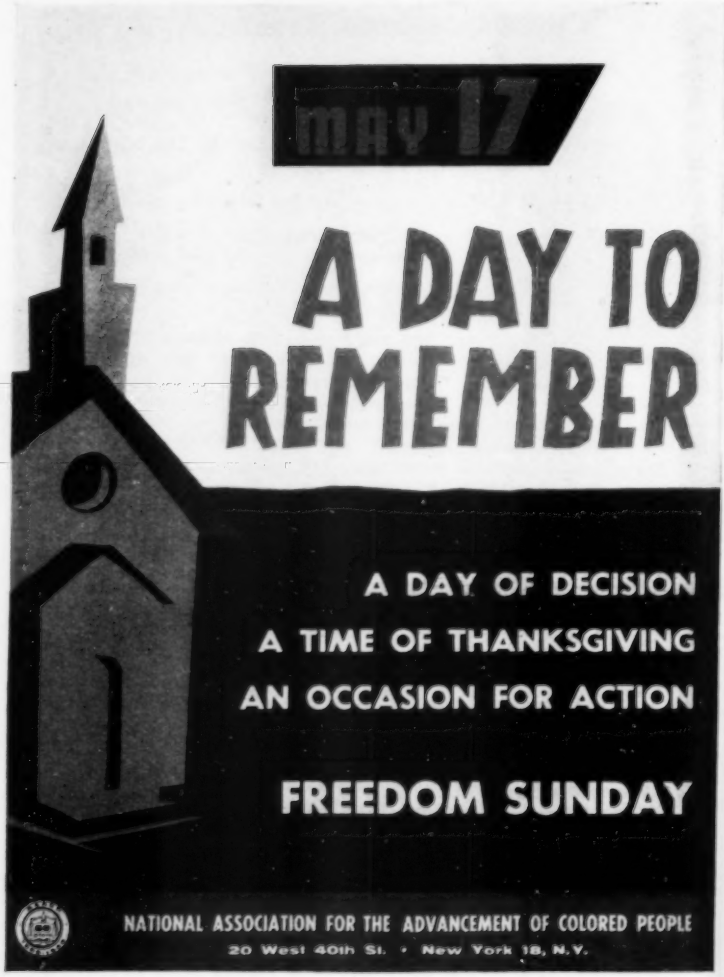
Address: .....

City & State .....

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

Youth Membership (under 21)	$ .50
Minimum Membership	2.00
Minimum Membership and The Crisis	3.50
Blue Certificate Membership	5.00
Gold Certificate Membership	10.00
Contributing Members	25.00
Donors	100.00
Life Members	500.00

(Memberships of $3.50 and up include $1.50 for one year's subscription to The Crisis magazine.)


MAY 17
A DAY TO REMEMBER
A DAY OF DECISION
A TIME OF THANKSGIVING
AN OCCASION FOR ACTION
FREEDOM SUNDAY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th St. • New York 18, N.Y.

Share for Social Action

THE NAACP CHURCH DEPARTMENT WANTS 1,000 CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS TO BE LISTED ON ITS "SHARING FOR SOCIAL ACTION" SCROLL OF HONOR

SHARE in the material responsibilities by working to implement equality of opportunity for all people. Every church can share by contributing $50 or $100 (or more) to the NAACP Freedom Fund.

SHARE through a practical concern with others in your community for the improvement of race relations. Join your local NAACP and other interested community agencies in efforts to improve housing, voter registration, schools, health, and job opportunities for members of minority groups. The NAACP Church Department will be a liaison between your group and the "Churches for Freedom" program of your local NAACP branch.

SHARE with others information on problems, plans, and procedures in the area of Christian social action.

For further information, please write:

REV. EDWARD J. ODOM, Jr., NAACP Church Secretary

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York

LIBRARY
INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON IND
7-60A

...ily newspaper in Chicago!

...ewspaper in Chicago that
...ering name in Negro

THERE'S a ... in Chicago that
inclu... ...g name in Negro
journali... ...s two editions a day,
and carrie... ...atest in international, national, local, and up-to-the minute news about Negroes everywhere.

This new daily newspaper in Chicago is the

CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER

Only three years old, the **CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER** is making historic strides. Why don't you write for a sample copy?

Just clip and mail this coupon TODAY, and we'll let you see a copy of our daily!

CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER
2400 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Please send me a sample copy of the **CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER.**

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....